1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage. As long as there was one lineage in the *vaa*, the *vaa* was exogamous. When many sub-
616 lineages developed within the *vaa*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
582 lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
171 explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *wakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
226 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
378 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
244 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
672 actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
696 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
681 commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.